3. THE PROGRAMME OF THE PARTY

The German Workers' Party (as it was then called) adopted a Programme with twenty-five Points at a meeting held in the Hofbräuhaus at Munich on 24 February 1920. Of that meeting Hitler has given an account in *MK,* pp. 401-6 (German), pp. 305-9 (English). With this account cf. Konrad Heiden, *A History of National Socialism,* London, Methuen, 1934, pp. 10-16 (where the significance of the Programme is discussed); F. L. Schuman, *The Nazi Dictatorship,* and edn., New York, Knopf, 1936, pp. 19-22. Gottfried Feder was appointed by Hitler as the authorized exponent of the policy of the Party, and his book which has been translated into English: *Hitler's Official Programme and its Fundamental Ideas,* London, Allen & Unwin, 1934, forms the essential commentary upon the views of the Movement. I have taken from it the translation of the Programme here printed: there is another translation in Konrad Heiden's book (loc. cit.). Of Feder's book there have been many editions in Germany: *Das Programm der NSDAP. und seine Weltanschaulichen Grundgedanken (*Nationalsozialistische Bibliothek, ed. G. Feder, Heft I). I have a copy before me of the "326-350 Thousand" edition published in 1932: for the German text of the Programme see pp. 19-22. "After full discussion at the General Meeting of members [of the Party] 22 May 1926 it was resolved that 'This Programme is unalterable'. This does not imply that every word must stand unchanged nor that any efforts to extend or develop the Programme are to be prohibited, but it does imply that the principles and the basic ideas contained in it are not to be tampered with." (Feder, English translation, p. 44. I have corrected the year frown I9~0 to 1936.) For the "interpretation" of Point I7, given by Hitler on 13 April 1928, cf. F. L. Schuman, op. cit., pp. I34 sqq.; for the questions on the Party's policy upon agricultural land raised by the Brandenburg Landbund in 1930 cf. Feder, English translation, pp. 115 sqq.; for the Party manifesto on Agriculture of 6 March 1930 see the second volume of this work.

THE PROGRAMME OF THE PARTY

THE Programme of the German Workers' Party is limited as to period. The leaders have no intention, once the aims announced in it have been achieved, of setting up fresh ones, in order to ensure the continued existence of the Party by the artificially increased discontent of the masses.

I. We demand the union of all Germans, on the basis of the right of the self-determination of peoples, to form a Great Germany.

2. We demand equality of rights for the German People in its dealings with other nations, and abolition of the Peace Treaties of Versailles and St. Germain.

3. We demand land and territory (colonies) for the nourishment of our people and for settling our surplus population.

4. None but members of the nation may be citizens of the State. None but those of German blood, whatever their creed, may be members of the nation. No Jew, therefore, may be a member of the nation.

5. Anyone who is not a citizen of the State may live in Germany only as a guest and must be regarded as being subject to the Alien laws.

6. The right of voting on the leadership and legislation is to be enjoyed by the citizens of the State alone. We demand, therefore, that all official appointments, of whatever kind, whether in the Reich, the provinces, or the small communities, shall be granted to citizens of the State alone.

We oppose the corrupt Parliamentary custom of the State of filling posts merely with a view to Party considerations, and without reference to character or capacity.

7. We demand that the State shall make it its first duty to promote the industry and livelihood of the citizens of the State. If it is not possible to nourish the entire population of the State, foreign nationals (non-citizens of the State) must be excluded from the Reich.

8. All further non-German immigration must be prevented. We demand that all non-Germans who entered Germany subsequently to August 2, 1914, shall be required forthwith to depart from the Reich.

9. All citizens of the State shall possess equal rights and duties.

10. It must be the first duty of every citizen of the State to perform mental or physical work. The activities of the individual must not clash with the interests of the whole, but must proceed within the framework of the community and must be for the genera! good.

We demand therefore:

I11. Abolition of incomes unearned by work. Abolition of the thralldom of interest.

12. In view of the enormous sacrifice of life and property demanded of a nation by every war, personal enrichment through war must be regarded as a crime against the nation. We demand therefore the ruthless confiscation of all war profits.

13. We demand the nationalization of all businesses which have (hitherto) been amalgamated (into Trusts).

14. We demand that there shall be profit-sharing in the great industries.

15. We demand a generous development of provision for old age.

16. We demand the creation and maintenance of a healthy middle class, immediate communalization of wholesale warehouses, and their lease at a low rate to small traders, and that the most careful consideration shall be shown to all small purveyors to the State, the provinces, or smaller communities.

I7. We demand a land-reform suitable to our national requirements, the passing of a law for the confiscation without compensation of land for communal purposes, the abolition of interest on mortgages, and prohibition of all speculation in land.

On I3 April 1928, Adolf Hitler made the following declaration:

"It is necessary to reply to the false interpretation on the part of our opponents of Point 17 of the Programme of the NSDAP.

"Since the NSDAP admits the principle of private property, it is obvious that the expression 'confiscation without compensation' refers merely to the creation of possible legal means of confiscating, when necessary land illegally acquired, or not administered in accordance with the national welfare. It is therefore directed in the first instance against the Jewish companies which speculate in land."

' (Signed) ADOLF HITLER.'

"Munich, April I3, 1928."

18. We demand ruthless war upon all those whose activities are injurious to the common interest. Common criminals against the nation, usurers, profiteers, etc., must be punished with death, whatever their creed or race.

I9. We demand that the Roman Law, which serves the materialistic world order, shall be replaced by a German common law.

20. With the aim of opening to every capable and industrious German the possibility of higher education and consequent advancement to leading positions the State must consider a thorough reconstruction of our national system of education. The curriculum of all educational establishments must be brought into line with the requirements of practical life. Directly the mind begins to develop the schools must aim at teaching the pupil to understand the idea of the State (State sociology). We demand the education of specially gifted children of poor

parents, whatever their class or occupation, at the expense of the State.

21. The State must apply itself to raising the standard of health in the nation by protecting mothers and infants, prohibiting child labor, and increasing bodily efficiency by legally obligatory gymnastics and sports, and by extensive support of clubs engaged in the physical training of the young.

22. We demand the abolition of mercenary troops and the formation of a national army.

23. We demand legal warfare against conscious political lies and their dissemination in the Press. In order to facilitate the creation of a German national Press we demand:

(a) that all editors and contributors to newspapers employing the German language must be members of the nation;

(b) That special permission from the State shall be necessary before non-German newspapers may appear. These need not necessarily be printed in the German language;

(*c*) That non-Germans shall be prohibited by law from participating financially in or influencing German newspapers, and that the penalty for contravention of the law shall be suppression of any such newspaper, and immediate deportation of the non-German involved.

It must be forbidden to publish newspapers which do not conduce to the national welfare. We demand the legal prosecution of all tendencies in art and literature of a kind likely to disintegrate our life as a nation, and the suppression of institutions which militate against the above-mentioned requirements.

24. We demand liberty for all religious denominations in the State, so long as they are not a danger to it and do not militate against the morality and moral sense of the German race.

The Party, as such, stands for positive Christianity, but does not bind itself in the matter of creed to any particular confession. It combats the Jewish-materialist spirit *within* and *without us,* and is convinced that our nation can achieve permanent health from within only on the principle: the common interest before self-interest.

25. That all the foregoing requirements may be realized we demand the creation of a strong central power of the Reich. Unconditional authority of the politically central Parliament over the entire Reich and its organization in general.

The formation of Diets and vocational Chambers for the purpose of executing the general laws promulgated by the Reich in the various States of the Confederation.

The leaders of the Party swear to proceed regardless of consequences — if necessary at the sacrifice of their lives — towards the fulfillment of the foregoing Points.

MUNICH, February 24, 1920.

In a meeting held in the Circus Prone on 18 September 1922 Hitler formulated "some fundamental demands of the Party":

"1. We must call to account the November criminals of 1918. It cannot be that two million Germans should have fallen in vain and that afterwards one should sit down as friends at the same table with traitors. No, we do not pardon, we demand — Vengeance!"

"2. The dishonoring of the nation must cease. For betrayers of their Fatherland and informers the gallows is the proper place. Our streets and squares shall once more bear the names of our heroes; they shall not be named after Jews. In the Question of Guilt we must proclaim the truth".

"3. The administration of the State must be cleared of the rabble which is fattened at the stall of the parties".

"4. The present laxity in the fight against usury must be abandoned. Here the fitting punishment is the same as that for the betrayers of their Fatherland".

"5. We must demand a great enlightenment on the subject of the Peace Treaty. With thoughts of love? No! but in holy hatred against those who have ruined us".

"6. The lies which would veil from us our misfortunes must cease. The fraud of the present money-madness must be shown up. That will stiffen the necks of us all".

"7. As foundation for a new currency the property of those who are not of our blood must do service. If families who have lived in Germany for a thousand years are now expropriated, we must do the same to the Jewish usurers".

"8. We demand immediate expulsion of all Jews who have entered Germany since 1914, and of all those, too, who through trickery on the Stock Exchange or through other shady transactions have gained their wealth".

"9. The housing scarcity must be relieved through energetic action; houses must be granted to those who deserve them. Eisner said in 1918 that we had no right to demand the return of our prisoners — he was only saying openly what all Jews were thinking. People who so think must feel how life tastes in a concentration camp!"

"Extremes must be fought by extremes. Against the infection of materialism, against the Jewish pestilence we must hold aloft a flaming ideal. And if others speak of the World and Humanity we say The Fatherland — and only the Fatherland!

In a speech delivered at Munich on 27 April 1923 Hitler again stated the demands of the National Socialists (translated above: see p. 64 *supra).*

At his trial after the "Putsch" of 1923 Hitler said:

"Germany's destiny lies neither in a Republic nor in a Monarchy, but in the content of the Republic or the Monarchy. What I am fighting is not the State-form in itself, but its shameful content. We wanted to create in Germany the conditions which would alone make it possible that we should be freed from the iron fist of our enemies. We wished to bring order into the administration, to drive out the drones, to wage battle against the international Stock Exchange enslavement, against the dominance of the trusts over our whole economic life, against the transformation of our trade unions into political bodies, and above all we wanted to see the reintroduction of the highest duty which we, as Germans, knew — the duty to bear arms — compulsory military service. And I ask you: Is that which we have wished high treason? Lastly we wanted our people to be incited to revolt against the threat of enslavement, we wished that at last the time should come when we should cease to endure like patient sheep one slap in the face after another.

Hitler, at a meeting of Press representatives, mainly English and American, held in Berlin on 4 December 1931, stated expressly that he did not intend to carry through any expropriation of property in any sphere.

"My Party is not a Movement of despair but a Movement of hope. When we come to power our watchword will be to give to the world that which is really due to it and to give to the German people as a sovereign people what it needs for its life. We want nothing else. Our Monroe Doctrine is and will ever be 'Germany for the Germans'."

On the programme which would be put into force when the National Socialists came into power Hitler, in December 1931, would give no details: "I much regret that I cannot give further details of our plan, but why should I, before the publication of our programme, give advice to the present Government?"

In a speech which was to have been directed to America by wireless but which for technical reasons could not be transmitted, but the text of which was subsequently published, Hitler stated that the National Socialist party recognized private property, private contracts, and private debts, but it refused to recognize public debts, the tributes imposed upon Germany in order to keep it in a state of perpetual bankruptcy.

Through a statement given to the United Press in July 1931 Hitler said that the National Socialists did not believe it possible for Germany to fulfill the purely economic obligations which had been forced upon her.

In October 1931 Hitler declared his readiness to fulfill "every non-political obligation which we have undertaken as one trader with another."

Hitler, in his final discussion on Socialism with Otto Strasser (22 May 1930), asked "with what right do the workers demand a share in the possessions of the capitalist, not to speak of a share in control?" *Turning to Herr Amann (the Party's Press-chief),* "Would you be prepared to stand it if suddenly your typists began to criticize?" The capitalists "have worked their way to the top through their capacity, and on the basis of this selection, which again only proves their higher race, they have a right to lead. Now you want an incapable Government Council or Works Council which has no notion of anything to have a say: no leader in economic life would tolerate it."

In the same talk with Otto Strasser (22 May 1930) Hitler was asked what, if National Socialism came to power, he would then do with the Krupp Co.— would everything remain as it was or not? Hitler replied:

"But of course things would remain as they were. Do you think that I should be so mad as to destroy business life *(Wirtschaft)?* Only if people should fail to act in the interests of the nation, then — and only then — would the State intervene. But for that you do not need any expropriation, you do not need to give the workers the right to have a voice in the conduct of the business: you need only a strong State which alone is in a position to determine its action solely from large considerations without regard to interested parties."

Otto Strasser answered that the Party Programme contained express reference to the "socialization" of businesses; if Hitler intended to maintain the capitalist system he had no right to talk of Socialism.

Hitler replied: "The term Socialism in itself is unfortunate *(schlecht),* but it is essential to realize that it does not mean that these businesses *must* be socialized, it means only that they *can* be socialized if they offend against the interests of the nation. As long as they do not do that, it would be simply a crime to destroy business life *(Wirtschaft)."* Germany could take as its model the Fascist State.

Otto Strasser objected that Fascism had hitherto simply maintained the supremacy of capital over the workers.

"That is all theorizing," *said Hitler.* "In actual fact only one system is possible in business: responsibility proceeding upwards and authority proceeding downwards. I ask of Herr Amann authority towards his subordinates and responsibility to me. Herr Amann asks from his section-chief responsibility to himself and authority in relation to his typists—and so on. That has been so for thousands of years and it can never be otherwise"....

"The only thing which the present system lacks is the ultimate responsibility to the nation. There can never be a system which is based on any other principle, . . . otherwise we should come to anarchistic, Bolshevist conditions. It is the result of the very nature of the process of production which remains always the same and knows nothing of your theoretical distinction between Capitalism and Socialism." . . .

"This sharing of the workers in possession and control is simply Marxism: I would give the right to exercise such an influence only to the State controlled by a higher class *(dem von einer höheren Schicht geleiteten Staat)."*

From the Proclamation by the Government to the German Nation: Berlin 1 February 1933.

"We are determined, as leaders of the nation, to fulfill as a national government the task which has been allotted to us, swearing fidelity only to God, our conscience, and the nation."

"The inheritance which has fallen to us is a terrible one. The task with which we are faced is the hardest which has fallen to German statesmen within the memory of man. But we are all filled with unbounded confidence, for we believe in our people and their imperishable virtues. Every class and every individual must help us to found the new Reich."

"The National Government will regard it as their first and foremost duty to revive in the nation the spirit of unity and co-operation. They will preserve and defend those basic principles on which our nation has been built up. They regard Christianity as the foundation of our national morality, and the family as the basis of national life. They are determined, without regard for class and social status, to restore the nation to a consciousness of its political and national unity and of the duties consequent upon this realization. They intend to make respect for our glorious past and pride in our ancient traditions the ground principles for the education of German youth. In this way they will wage a pitiless warfare upon spiritual, political, and cultural Nihilism. Germany must not, Germany shall not go under in the chaos of Communism."

"Turbulent instincts must be replaced by a national discipline as the guiding principle of our national life. All those institutions which are the strongholds of the energy and vitality of our nation will be taken under the especial care of the Government."

"The National Government intends to solve the problem of the reorganization of trade and commerce with two four-year plans:"

"The German farmer must be rescued in order that the nation may be supplied with the necessities of life."

"A concerted and all-embracing attack must be made on unemployment in order that the German working class may be saved from ruin."

"The November parties have ruined the German peasantry in fourteen years."

"In fourteen years they have created an army of millions of unemployed."

"The National Government will, with iron determination and unshakable steadfastness of purpose, put through the following plan:"

"Within four years the German peasant must be rescued from the quagmire into which he has fallen."

"Within four years unemployment must be finally overcome. At the same time the conditions necessary for a revival in trade and commerce are provided."

"The National Government will couple with this tremendous task of reorganizing business life a reorganization of the administrative and fiscal systems of the Reich, of the Federal States, and the Communes."

"Only when this has been done can the idea of a continued federal existence of the entire Reich be fully realized."

"Compulsory labor-service and the 'back-to-the-land' policy are two of the basic principles of this programme."

"The securing of the necessities of life will include the performance of social duties to the sick and aged."

"In economical administration, the promotion of employment, the preservation of the farmer, as well as in the exploitation of individual initiative the Government see the best guarantee for the avoidance of any experiments which would endanger the currency."

"As regards their foreign policy the National Government consider their highest mission to be the securing of the right to live and the restoration of freedom to our nation. Their determination to bring to an end the chaotic state of affairs in Germany will assist in restoring to the community of nations a State of equal value and, above all, a State which must have equal rights. They are impressed with the importance of their duty to use this nation of equal rights as an instrument for the securing and maintenance of that peace which the world requires today more than ever before."

"May the good will of all others assist in the fulfillment of this our earnest wish for the welfare of Europe and of the whole world.

"Great as is our love for our army as the bearer of our arms and the symbol of our great past, we should be happy if the world, by reducing its armaments, would see to it that we need never again increase our own."

The negative side of this programme may he summarized in the two sentences: "Fourteen years of Marxism have ruined Germany: one year of Bolshevism would destroy her." "If, however, Germany is to experience this political and economic revival and conscientiously fulfill her duties towards the other nations, one decisive step is absolutely necessary first: the overcoming of the destroying menace of Communism in Germany."

The Proclamation closes with the prayer that "God Almighty may give our work His blessing, strengthen our purpose and endow us with wisdom and the trust of our people, for we are fighting not for ourselves, but for Germany!"

In the speech delivered on 10 February 1933 in the Sportpalast, Berlin, Hitler said that "the first point in the Government programme was: our will is not to lie and not to cheat: it is for this reason that I have always refused to come before this people and make cheap promises."

Contrast the statement made by Hitler in a speech at Königsberg on 4 March 1933 on the work of the "November -politicians": "The beginning of their work was founded upon a lie, upon perjury and breach of faith."

"We have been asked today to define our programme: for the moment we can say only one thing: You began with a lie and we want to make a fresh beginning with a truth. The lie was beautiful and seductive, and truth, that is always bitter and hard. But one day the lie is unmasked: one day the truth will conquer. It is only natural that a people that has given itself over to madness should be led once more into truth. And the first thought contained in this truth is this: a people must understand that its future lies only in its own strength, in its capacity, its industry, its courage. The world gives no help: the people must help itself. One's own strength is the source of life: that strength is the gift of the Almighty, and it is given that we may use it, that in it and through it we may fight the battle of our life". . .

"I did not wish to begin like the others with a lie: they promised when they came into power improvement in a few months. When a building is completely ruined one cannot restore it in four or six weeks. The others in the years that are past have not had the blessing of the Almighty in Whose hands at the last, whatever men may do, the final judgment rests. Our prayer is: Lord God let us never hesitate, let us never play the coward, let us never forget the duty which we have taken upon us.

In a speech at Kiel at a review of the SA. on 7 May 1933 Hitler said:

"The aim of this great uprising is the inner and actual victory over November 1918: . . . the end of the German Revolution must come only with the end of the November criminals, the end of their system, the end of their existence. We will track down these men into their last lurking-places, we will not pause or rest until the last trace of this poison is removed from the body of our people.... If the army is the school of the German people in arms, you must form the political school so that one day from these two factors — the formation of the political will and the defense of the Fatherland — there will flow a great addition of strength. One day the time will come when in fact all Germany will march under our banner. We do not wish to be small-minded: we want to offer our hand to anyone who will join us. But at the end of our way there must stand a German people with a single organization of its political will. I would not sink into the grave with the thought that one day later centuries will be able to charge me and with me charge you: 'You, too, have failed to recognize the greatest German task and have not fulfilled it.' We have recognized that task and are resolved to fulfill it."

In his speech in the Reichstag on I7 May 1933 Hitler thus formulated the three aims of the National Socialist Revolution:

(i) To prevent the threatened Communist revolution, to build up a national State which shall unite the interests of the different classes and castes, and to maintain the idea of property as the basis of our culture.

(ii) To solve the most difficult of social problems by bringing back the millions of our unfortunate unemployed into productive work.

(iii) To re-establish a stable and authoritative Government, supported by the will and confidence of the nation, which shall make our great people an acceptable partner of the other States of the world.

In a speech at the dedication of the Deutschlandhalle in Berlin (29 November 1935) Hitler said:

"It has been objected: Why does National Socialism still intend to deliver speeches now that it has won power ?"

Hitler replied that he did not wish to let the authority which he had won in fourteen years of struggle go to waste: that authority he wished to maintain. National Socialism came from time to time before the people, but not for discussion or mutual criticism.

Decisions were made by the National Socialist alone, but he was prepared to explain to the people the reason for his action. Everything which had taken place in the years since National Socialism assumed power had been previously prepared in the will and outlook of the people: that had been done systematically whether it had been a question of the destruction of Marxism, of the legislation on race which had been greeted with gratitude and understanding by the overwhelming majority of the people, or again of the ending of the condition of national weakness. Step by step he had really brought about only that which the people, prepared through fourteen years of intensive propaganda, had expected of him. The *bourgeois* democracy had achieved nothing because it had not understood how to inoculate the German people with its will.

National Socialism explained to the people only the general principles; as a rule it was silent about tactics — National Socialist speakers dealt with the general line of policy: this was sufficient, for they knew how to distinguish clearly between principles and tactics and they were supported by the people. On the other hand, the people had been so trained *(erzogen)* as to form a force which compelled the Government to follow continuously the path on which they had started. This was the only way in which the political leadership of a nation could maintain stability. This interaction between leaders and people had secured that, particularly in times of anxiety, National Socialists could appeal to the people in order to receive from it their new marching orders....

There would always be difficulties, but he would have no more joy in life if there were no longer any problems to solve. The difficulties of a day served merely as a thermometer to show that a subject must now be tackled: capitulation before a problem there could never be.... The greatest of all problems was the individual man, and therefore the greatest task was the education of the German for the new community. Man himself is a creature with a soul; that meant that material problems must be brought into relation with the soul of the people.

To this summary "The Times" of 30 November 1935 added the following sentences:

National Socialism and the German people were one. That they had conquered the German people could not be denied, "For otherwise we should not be here — and we are here and here we shall stay."

There was no one to succeed them. No one had the necessary popularity. He himself had become popular because he had the courage to be unpopular.... He had opposed the big organizations; he would not stop before the pigmy remains....

Distress would not conquer Germany; the National Socialist Movement would conquer distress. They would solve the raw material difficulty, but it would be easier to do that if the rest of the world were not mad.

In a speech at Regensburg on 6 June 1937 Hitler said:

In 1933 on coming to power National Socialism had set itself four tasks:

"i. To create a single people.

ii. To secure to this people through work its daily bread.

iii. To protect this people and its work and to restore to it freedom, honor, and power.

iv. Within this people to raise a new and higher social community."

In June 1937 *he could regard their first task as practically accomplished.* "We march under the spell of this purpose, and he who sets himself in our path must not complain if sooner or later the march of a nation passes over him." `~

In 1939, as Hitler looked back on the early programme of the Party, he said:

"And then as an unknown soldier of the World War I took up my position. It was a very short and simple programme: removal of the domestic enemies of the nation. putting an end to the disunion of Germany, unification of the whole national strength of our people in a new community and the breaking in pieces by one means or another of the Peace Treaty. For so long as this "Diktat" of Versailles lay heavy upon the German people it was, in fact, doomed to perish.'"

In his Proclamation at the opening of the Party Congress at Nuremberg on 6 September 1938 Hitler described the tasks which the Party had to perform. "It had to break up and destroy the other world of parties; it had to declare unrelenting war on the world of class and social prejudices; it had to ensure that without consideration of birth or of origin the German who was strong-willed and capable might find his way upwards. It had to purge Germany of all those parasites for whom the need of their Fatherland and people served as a source of personal enrichment. It had to recognize the eternal values of blood and soil, and to raise the respect paid to those values until they became the supreme laws of our life. It had to begin the struggle against the greatest enemy who threatened to destroy our people — the international Jewish world-enemy!"

"Its task was to cleanse from that influence the life of the German people, our race and culture. It had to put an end to the thoughtlessness of public opinion. It had to take into its hands all means of guiding the people — Press, theater, films, and all other forms of propaganda — and to direct them towards a single goal. Moreover, it had also to secure the social foundations of the new community of the people, to place its economy at the service of the nation, and' above all, its task was to set up a new central and universal authority. For if one still wished to believe in any salvation for Germany at all. this could never come through any jumble of conflicting views, or through the doctrine of *laissez-faire* preached by clamorous know-alls and carping critics! The Party must therefore go on to protect this authority not only from the attacks of individuals but still more from the threat represented by the spiritless attitude of big business circles, and of all those aristocrats and wiseacres for whom the whole meaning of freedom at home is but the license to live one's own life in the service of one's personal interests, regardless whether the foreign foe may destroy the freedom of all. In these matters it was essential for the Party not to give way before the great common front of *bourgeois* and Marxist unreason. Nor must it bow before attempts to influence it on the part of all those who might hope, perhaps, to see in the new movement a financial or political rehabilitation of their own deficiencies."